DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 181 098 UD 019 930

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TITLE Occupational and Educational Patterns for New Hampshire's Franco-Americans.
INSTITUTION New Hampshire Civil Liberties Union, Manchester.
PUB DATE 21 Aug 79
NOTE 87p.: Not available in paper copy due to reproduction quality of original document

EDRS PRICE MF01 Plus Postage. PC Not Available from EDRS.
DESCRIPTORS Acculturation: *Educational Status Comparison: *Employment Opportunities: Equal Opportunities (Jobs): *Ethnicity: Ethnic Relations: *Socioeconomic Status
IDENTIFIERS *Franco Americans: *New Hampshire

ABSTRACT

Despite the fact that Franco-Americans make up at least 25% of the New Hampshire population, very little is known about their occupational and educational status. Research has shown that although assimilation has taken place, a distinct Franco-American subculture exists. This study examines the status of New Hampshire Franco-Americans and their relationships with the majority population. The reporting of French as a mother tongue (FMT) on the 1970 census or possession of a French surname are used as criteria in identifying the Franco-American population in New Hampshire. The age cohort analysis of educational attainment patterns indicates that while the FMT population has followed the overall societal tendency toward higher levels of education, there has been no change in their low status relative to the English mother tongue (EMT) population. Analysis of employment patterns indicates that the occupational status of the FMT population is substantially different from that of the EMT population--FMT individuals are significantly underrepresented in the managerial and administrative ranks and among professional and technical workers. It is concluded that a system of ethnic stratification exists in New Hampshire and that, for the State's Franco-American population, ethnicity is a significant factor in determining socioeconomic status. (RLV)

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OCCUPATIONAL AND EDUCATIONAL PATTERNS FOR

NEW HAMPSHIRE'S FRANCO-AMERICANS

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

As is true with any endeavour, this report owes its existence to the advice and assistance of many people. While it is impossible to individually and adequately thank each person who in some manner aided the research effort, every contribution was deeply appreciated. A special note of recognition is due the Executive Director of the New Hampshire Civil Liberties Union, Jon Meyer; the Coordinator of the Franco-American Project, John Dupont; and the members of the Franco-American Project Advisory Committee, without whose assistance and direction this undertaking would not have succeeded. Finally, the project owes a debt of gratitude to Dr. Madeleine Giguère of the University of Southern Maine and to the Conseil Pour Le Developpement Du Français En Nouvelle-Angleterre (CODOFINE), whose financial generosity made possible the utilization of census data in the research report.

FOREWORD

In the mid-nineteenth century, about half a million French-speaking people immigrated from Canada to work in New England textile mills. These people, together with French-origin people in Louisiana and other parts of the United States, constitute our fourth largest ethnic group.

Of importance is the lack of visibility of this large minority group in our State. Historians and sociologists have paid little attention to the French populations in New England. A recent social needs survey by New Hampshire's Department of Education reveals that no text in use in the public schools in New Hampshire even mentions the Franco-American's existence or presence in the State or region.

The fact is that New England, and New Hampshire in particular, has a large Franco-American population. Although there are no exact figures, most estimates conclude that over one-quarter of the people in this State have Franco-American ancestry.

A sense of cultural and ethnic identity has been a powerful force in the Franco-American Community, but many factors have contributed to processes of assimilation and acculturation in the last half century. Among these are the World Wars, relocation of the textile industry, the advent of mass media, and the reduction of the number of parochial schools. However, given the linguistic and cultural environment and the geographical location of the immigrant group, the extent of this particular ethnic minority's resistance to total assimilation over the last century and a half has been striking.

This study is important in that it points to the need to reconsider present emphasis on cultural homogeneity in our institutions. Past forceful eradication of diversity, abandonment of rich cultural heritages, and even name changes in exchange for acceptance and success in the greater society have lead to attitudes of fear and suspicion, and a standard of blandness and confinement. Minority cultures have suffered from a combination of arrogance and neglect on the part of those who dominate American institutions.

In a time in our history when statements of policy by educators and politicians reflect appreciation of cultural pluralism, equality of opportunity, principles of freedom, and positive contributions of all cultural groups to the strength of our nation, it is ironic that in practice, society and the instrument for self-actualization, the schools, maintain the status quo of hierarchical pluralism and monocultural arrogance. Such a system perpetuates majority culture elitism and minority-culture submergence at the expense of everyone in the society, and in all spheres of human activity.

It is my hope that this first study to define the status of Franco-Americans in New Hampshire, and their relationships to the majority culture, will be employed by everyone with power to provide means to resolve the conflict between mainstream and pluralistic ideologies. As a nation, we are now past the early years when, for the sake of cohesion, we could not afford the expression of diversity for fear of political divisiveness.

Ethnic revitalization is occurring at a time in history when new national perspectives are providing for development of a forum for ethnic minorities to discuss the issues. The multi-ethnic ideology can assist in resolution of conflicts between ideologies and provide channels for curriculum reform in the educational system. In the words of the author, "For too long, the Franco-American fact has been ignored in New Hampshire. It is the task of the present to insure that this is not the truth in the future".

> "In this life we prepare for things, for moments and events and situations....We worry about wrongs, think about injustices, read what Tolstoi or Ruskin...has to say....Then, all of a sudden, the issue is not whether we agree with what we have heard and read and studied....The issue is us, and what we have become".
>
> -Robert Coles

Robert R. Fournier

8/21/79

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I. Introduction

One of the most significant of the ethnic groups of New England are the Franco-Americans[1] of New Hampshire. Descendants of the predominantly rural, Catholic Francophones who emigrated from Quebec to the mill towns of New England during the second half of the nineteenth century, their historical and cultural traditions can be traced to the original French North American settlements in the early 1600's. Today, it is estimated that Franco-Americans constitute one-quarter to one-third of New Hampshire's population (Nichols, 1974), although some estimates are as high as forty percent (French, 1976:332). Clustering in the urban centers and old mill towns, Franco-Americans are more than a descent group, as available evidence indicates the maintenance of a distinct identity amidst strong assimilative pressures. According to the United States Bureau of the Census (1972), 15.3% of New Hampshire residents claimed French as their mother tongue.

Although the recent resurgence of interest in ethnicity and ethnic groups has led to the rejection of the "melting pot" (Glazer and Moynihan, 1963) and the re-emergence of the so-called "white ethnics" (see Novak, 1971), Franco-Americans have been virtually ignored in literature and research. In contrast to most other ethnic groups, there is a noticeable lack of ethnographic material on Franco-Americans, while researchers often fail to utilize "Franco-American" as a statistical category;

[1] In general terms, Canadian descended Americans of French origin. While perhaps "French-Canadian American" might be a more descriptive term, "Franco-American" has come to be the most commonly used appellation for this group.

combine them with French-Americans, Canadians, or Belgians[2]; or come no closer than to mention "Northern European immigrants". Indeed, this position is best summarized by Greeley's (1974:25) statement: "About the French-American community very little is known."

It has been suggested, however, that Franco-Americans have not enjoyed full participation in the economic and educational institutions. Data from an unpublished study of sixty-four New Hampshire businesses and industries (N. H. Commission for Human Rights, 1973)[3] indicated that although Franco-Americans comprised 37.9% of workers surveyed, they were severely underrepresented in managerial, professional, technical, and skilled operative positions while constituting a high percentage of semiskilled operators and laborers. A study of New Hampshire state employees conducted by the New Hampshire Advisory Committee to the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights (1974) found that Franco-Americans occupied only 3% of classified jobs paying over $10,000 annually, but held 15% of the positions in the $6,000 - $10,000 bracket and 30% of positions earning less than $6,000. In the area of education, research, although inconclusive, indicates that Franco-Americans are at a disadvantage. According to an unpublished New Hampshire State Department of Education study (Stewart, 1975), there exists a high correlation between school districts with a

[2]A further complication is provided by the Louisiana French-"Cajuns"-who although culturally different are included in research at the national level.

[3]See Appendix A.

high percentage of French-surnamed students and towns having a high percentage of adults with less than an eighth grade education. Furthermore, there have been allegations that for those students speaking a language other than English, educational opportunity is less than equal.[4]

In response to this situation, the Franco-American Research Project was established in April 1978 by the New Hampshire Civil Liberties Union for the purpose of gathering additional information relating to the occupational and educational status of New Hampshire's Franco-American community. This report presents the findings of the project during its year of operation.

[4] In Manchester, following a complaint by the N. H. Advisory Committee to the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, the city school department was requested to submit a plan to show compliance with Title VI of the Civil Rights Act, which guarantees equal educational opportunity to students with limited English speaking ability.

II. Method

In the attempt to produce socioeconomic data for New Hampshire's Franco-Americans, the project research effort confronted two major problems: the lack of an adequate operational definition of "Franco-American" and the unavailability of data on Franco-Americans. Difficulty in identifying Franco-Americans stems from the vague conceptualizations of ethnicity, for although terms such as "ethnicity" and "ethnic group" may receive broad usage, there remains great diversity in definition and emphasis (see Isajiw, 1974; Burgess, 1978; and Obidinski, 1978). Two fundamental yet unresolved issues revolve around the extent to which ethnicity is an involuntary trait, inculcated during childhood, as opposed to a selected identity through which individual or group interests may be advanced; and, following Obidinski (1978: 219-220) and Lopata (1976: 2), the extent to which degrees of ethnic affiliation exist and ethnic identity can be conceived as varying along a continuum. Both issues are pertinent to the study of Franco-Americans, for in a situation where the degree of assimilation is a matter for debate, variations in ethnic identity become a distinct possibility. Accordingly, consideration of these questions is essential to the formulation of research definitions.

Compounding this dilemma was the virtual non-existence of viable data, as "Franco-American" is not generally utilized as a category for statistical purposes. With the exception of linguistically derived data, the United States Bureau of the Census has

not compiled information on Franco-Americans since 1950.[5] At the state level, there is no agency which keeps discrete data on Franco-Americans. Existing data is based upon personal knowledge or subjective analysis and is often highly inaccurate. As the research objectives required a method having utility at the statewide level, and fiscal limitations precluded large scale survey research based upon respondent self-ascription, it became necessary to design alternative methods applicable to large populations.

To resolve these issues, then, an attempt was made to establish "working boundaries" for Franco-American ethnic identity, taking into consideration the need for access to existing information. While there exists no definitive conceptualization of ethnicity, it is possible to extract common elements from the complex of available definitions. Such characteristics as sense of belonging, common history or descent, and the use of shared symbolic elements (language, religion, beliefs, customs, etc.) for identification and differentiation all receive sufficiently broad usage to form a basis for discussion. Likewise, while an all encompassing definition of "Franco-American" remains an elusive quantity, we can focus upon French origins and Quebec descent, identification with the French-Canadian/Franco-American cultural and historical tradition, and relevant shared symbolic elements. Consequently, research relied upon two symbolically important cultural characteristics for identification: language and surname.

Language is an integral aspect of culture, and the

[5] Even the 1950 data only describes "foreign stock" of French-Canadian origin.

French language has been a significant aspect of Franco-American ethnic identity. French language maintenance efforts have been remarkably persistent (Lemaire, 1966) for, as previously noted, 15.3% of New Hampshire's population in 1970 (U. S. Bureau of the Census, 1972) were described as "French mother tongue". Moreover, only 14.5% of this group was foreign born, while 42.5% are "second generation" and 43% are at least "third generation" American residents. Interviews with Franco-Americans indicate the symbolic significance of the language, or even a "French accent", in ethnic identification, often coupled with the realization that social mobility is contingent upon the absence of either.

One major result of the reliance upon language as a means of ethnic identification was the emergence of French mother tongue data as a valuable source of information on Franco-Americans. The expression "French mother tongue", as used herein, refers to question 17 on the 15% sample questionnaire of the 1970 Census of Population, which read as follows: "What language, other than English, was spoken in this person's home when he was a child?" The French mother tongue population includes those individuals who responded "French" to this question. This question then provided the opportunity, through access to other census information, to compile a wide range of data on New Hampshire's Franco-Americans. Although a similar undertaking (Giguere, 1974) yielded valuable insights into Maine's Franco-Americans, no New Hampshire information was hitherto available.

In order to obtain demographic and socioeconomic information on New Hampshire's French mother tongue population, data was extracted

from the Public Use Sample of Basic Records[6] from the 1970 Census by crosstabulating the "French" responses to the mother tongue question with selected economic and educational questions asked of the same 15% sample. For comparative purposes, a similar crosstabulation was made for the "English only" responses to the mother tongue question. Although both the Public Use Sample and the 15% sample questions are subject to sampling variability, the French mother tongue data provides the most accurate profile available of New Hampshire's Franco-American community.

Use of mother tongue as a means of identification is limited, however, by the steadily increasing number of Franco-Americans for whom the French language is no longer a factor. Evidence of the continuing nature of this trend is provided by the age distribution of the French mother tongue population (see Table 1), showing a concentration in the older age cohorts. Furthermore, comparison of the 15.3% figure for the French mother tongue subpopulation with the total Franco-American population estimates of twenty-five to forty percent indicates that the French mother tongue group may only comprise one-half of the total Franco-American population. While it might be possible to consider the French mother tongue subpopulation as a "core group" of the Franco-American community by hypothesizing that those persons having primary contact with the French language have retained more of their cultural heritage and have been less vulnerable to the pressures of assimilation, it is clear that some measure of

[6]For a detailed description of the Public Use Samples, see U. S. Bureau of the Census (1971).

TABLE 1

Age Distribution of the French and English Mother Tongue Populations; New Hampshire, 1970

Age in Years	% FMT	% EMT	
0 - 4	7.9	10.4	**
5 - 14	11.6	24.3	**
15 - 24	14.5	17.7	*
25 - 34	13.6	11.8	
35 - 44	13.0	9.4	**
45 - 54	16.4	9.7	**
55 - 64	11.8	7.6	**
65 & over	15.2	8.9	**
(N)	1186	5453	

* $p < .01$ ** $p < .005$

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Public Use Sample, 1970 Census of Population.

caution is necessary in generalization from the research results. Despite all shortcomings, data based upon the French mother tongue subpopulation remains the only available source of population data on Franco-Americans.

The second major criterion utilized for identification of Franco-Americans was possession of a French surname, which, given the declining use of the French Language and the absence of differential physical characteristics, constitutes perhaps the most significant means of ethnic identification. Surnames, described by Lopata (1976:112) as "the last visible proof of identification with the ethnic group," have previously been employed in studies of French-Canadians (Vicero, 1968; Porter, 1965) and have immense symbolic value in identification of Franco-Americans. The importance of this role is typified by one Franco-American woman who was observed to employ her French maiden name, rather than her Anglo-American married name, in situations where ethnic identity was emphasized.

As a complement to the mother tongue data, then, it was decided to develop a more reliable method for identifying French surnames. Utilizing Giguere's (undated) French-Canadian Surnames, Franco-Americans were operationally defined as those individuals having surnames included therein. Due to the high incidence of "questionable" surnames and resultant ambiguities, several refinements became necessary. First, a method was devised for treatment of surnames of multi-ethnic origin; that is, those surnames contained in Giguere's list but identified as being common to more than one ethnic group. Surnames having a high probability

of being Franco-American (such as Martin, Gilbert, Lambert, etc.[7]), yet still questionable, were deleted from the total population and not counted as either Franco-American or non- Franco-American; surnames deemed to have a low probability of being Franco-American were simply treated as non- Franco-American. Secondly, it became necessary to deal with the effects of American "mutation" (see Violette, 1976: 334-335) or phonetic variations of French-Canadian surnames. Surnames classified in these categories were treated as French surnames; however notations were made regarding such instances. Finally, there were "marginal" surnames, those surnames subjectively appearing to be "French" in origin, yet not included in Giguere's list. These surnames were treated as not being of French-Canadian origin; however a record was kept of such cases.

Although every attempt was made to develop as consistent and scientific a research methodology as possible, there remain problem areas which should result in the understatement of the Franco-American proportion of a research population. While many observers (see Sorg, 1978) have described the "anglicization" of French surnames, there is no means for taking this into consideration. Surname change due to marriage also presents a problem, for although Franco-Americans have been described as "highly endogamous" (French, 1976: 334-335), tending to marry within the ethnic group, and a "balancing effect" could be hypothesized for intergroup marriages, neither can be considered an empirical certainty. Finally, the methodological decision to delete or

[7]For a complete listing, see Appendix B.

treat as non- Franco-American all surnames of multi-ethnic origin should also serve to reduce the percentage of Franco-Americans in a research population. A preliminary test of the surname identification methodology tended to confirm this expectation, as telephone interviews conducted with a random sample of 51 persons drawn from the Manchester municipal directory (Polk, 1977) found that 54.9% of respondents described themselves as Franco-American, while surname identification defined only 41.18% as Franco-American.[8]

Under ideal circumstances, application of the surname identification methodology would be based upon the premise that statewide Franco-American representation in occupations and institutions should be equivalent to their incidence in the general population; or more accurately, the incidence of Franco-Americans in the labor force and in the school age population. Unfortunately, the absence of accurate population data for Franco-Americans precludes this as a possibility, excepting rough comparisons with population estimates. Following Porter (1965:76), however, it is possible to establish proportional Franco-American representation within the occupational and educational hierarchies, and by this internal comparison to discover the degree to which overrepresentation or underrepresentation exists. Although these

[8]Of the persons who described themselves as Franco-American who were not identified as such, the majority were married women whose surnames failed to reflect their ethnicity. Other cases included one "marginal surname", one male with a Franco-American mother and an Irish-American father, and one surname that was simply not on the list. In addition, one male having a surname that could only be described as typically Franco-American maintained that he was not Franco-American.

limitations again mandate caution in generalization, and further refinement is clearly necessary, the use of French surnames for the identification of Franco-Americans represents the most accurate means available for the estimation of Franco-American representation in groups and institutions.

III. New Hampshire's Franco-Americans: An Overview

Franco-Americans descend from a rich historical tradition on the North American continent, dating back to the sixteenth century explorations of the "New World" and the settlement of Quebec at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Although the main flow of French immigration ended in 1675 (Perreault, 1976), French Canada remained an independent entity until the British conquest in 1763 brought Quebec under British rule. The early termination of settlement and the conquest, with consequent isolation and emphasis on cultural preservation (see Rioux, 1973), led to the establishment of an agriculturally oriented peasant society, dedicated to the preservation of French culture in North America.

While seemingly stable, traditional French-Canadian society carried within it the seeds of its own dissolution. Restricted in geographical area with limited room for expansion and hampered by low agricultural productivity, the Quebec population displayed a phenomenal rate of natural increase (Vicero, 1968: 10-11). In a conservative, stationary society with an inability to adapt, this rapid increase in population combined with the agricultural reversals of the early nineteenth century and the lack of commerce or industry to make migration inevitable, despite opposition from church and state.[9] Beginning with a

[9]For an in-depth analysis of the causes and the course of French-Canadian migration, see Vicero (1968).

trickling prior to 1840, the flow of French-Canadian immigration into New England became a veritable flood during the latter half of the nineteenth century. According to Vicero (1968:2), the net migration between 1840 and 1900 was 350,000 persons, while the number of temporary migrants was at least equal to the net migration. Although return to the homeland was an ideal for many immigrant groups, French-Canadians were seemingly unique in their ability to realize this goal, a fact which profoundly influenced Franco-American culture. Significant French-Canadian immigration also occurred during the 1920's (Miner, 1939; Lemaire, 1966), however the major population movement took place between 1860 and 1900.

French-Canadian immigration into New England was encouraged by a wide range of factors. The industrialization of New England made increasing demands upon a labor supply already drained by the Civil War and American westward migration. With the completion of the railroad link between Quebec and New England, the burgeoning shoe, woolen, and textile industries found a readily accessible labor supply able to respond to fluctuations in the New England economy. Considered hard working, honest, and docile, the French-Canadian habitant was preferred by the mill owners, who often actually recruited in Quebec for laborers (Vicero, 1968:177-181).

Moving through northern Vermont and down to Massachusetts and Rhode Island, French-Canadian immigrants came to New Hampshire in significant numbers after 1860, settling in the mill towns of

the Merrimack Valley and along the rivers of the eastern tier. Some settlement did occur in rural northern New Hampshire, however it was not until the rise of the pulp and paper industry in Berlin in the 1880's that any significant population growth became evident (Vicero, 1968:308-309). Throughout New England, French-Canadians flocked to the manufacturing centers, particularly the textile towns[10], finding employment in manufacturing and manual labor and moving slowly into crafts and trades.

As French-Canadian migration increased, the clustering of the population facilitated the rise of ethnic institutions; national parishes, parochial schools, mutual aid societies, and a Franco-American press.[11] The emphasis on cultural preservation - "la survivance", already strong as a result of the Canadian experience, fueled this growth. The roles of these institutions were complex, serving both to maintain the French-Canadian/Franco-American cultural identity and to integrate the French-Canadians into American society (Blazon, 1974). Although the Franco-American ethnic institutions have declined slowly but steadily through the years, they greatly influenced the emerging Franco-American culture.

[10] Vicero (1968:316) notes that 75% of the French-Canadian migrants lived in textile towns and that 37% of the French-Canadian labor force worked in the textile industry.

[11] For more complete discussions of the roles of these institutions, see Plante (1940); Chevalier (1972); Roy (1965); and St. Laure Kegresse (1955).

With the passage of time, the lot of the Franco-Americans paralled that of the immigrants from southern and eastern Europe; the experience of prejudice and discrimination,[12] the conflicting pressures of "Americanization" and cultural maintenance, and the struggle to find a niche in American society. Undoubtedly, this process had its associated social and psychological costs for Franco-Americans,[13] similar to the experiences of other ethnic groups (see Child, 1943). Although much of the literature speaks of the assimilation of Franco-Americans (see, for example, Perreault, 1976:35-42), available evidence suggests that despite inevitable acculturation,[14] there remains a unique Franco-American subculture. While the study of Franco-Americans suffers from the absence of ethnographic research, existing material can be combined to present a sketch of contemporary Franco-American culture.

As early as 1945, Warner and Srole (1945:72-73;100) singled out French-Canadian immigrants in "Yankee City" for their slower rate of upward mobility, finding them to be comparatively low on indices of residential and occupational status and social class. This they attributed to the proximity of the immigrants to Quebec and to the slow adaptation of the French-Canadian structure to American society, with emphasis upon the strongly patriarchal nature of the French-Canadian family. Warner and Srole (1945:233)

[12] One infamous Massachusetts Bureau of Labor Statistics report (see Vicero, 1968:356) labelled French-Canadians "the Chinese of the Eastern States," while Edwards (1974:14) notes anti-French Ku Klux Klan activity in Vermont in the 1930's.

[13] For a descriptive "life history" account of several third generation French-Canadian immigrants, see Duncan (1933:857-862).

[14] For a discussion of acculturation and assimilation, see Gordon (1965:61).

also observed the role of the parochial school in orienting youth into both the French-Canadian and American cultures, while restricting "defections" from the French language. In a later study, Rosen (1959) found low levels of educational and vocational aspiration, as well as low achievement motivation and achievement value orientation, among French-Canadians when compared with other ethnic groups. Two recent studies from northern Vermont provide further information; Woolfson (1972) suggests differential value orientations for Anglo and Franco-American schoolchildren,[15] while Edwards (1974) notes lower educational achievement and reading ability among Franco-American students. With the exception of Rosen's research, however, each of these studies is restricted to a limited geographical area.

On a broader scale, French (1976), in a description of the Franco-American working class family, emphasizes strong kinship ties, primary relationships, and the dominant role of the male as the principal characteristics of Franco-American culture. Also stressed in this description is the low value placed upon formal education, the preponderance of Franco-Americans in "marginal" occupations, and a limited pattern of social and physical mobility. In an analysis of census data for Maine, Giguere (1974) finds a pattern of relatively low educational attainment and occupational achievement among the French mother tongue population when compared with the English mother tongue population. Data also suggests slightly larger families and closer family ties, as well

[15] See a similar work by Shapiro and Perlman (1974) on differences in the cognitive styles of French and English Canadians.

as a stronger tendency to remain in the same geographical area. At the national level, two studies (Greeley, 1974; U. S. Bureau of the Census, 1973) have suggested that Americans of French origin rank lower on occupational and educational hierarchies, however the utility of the data is limited due to conceptual shortcomings.

The description of Franco-Americans can be augmented by comparison with studies of French Canada, for in both the similarities and the differences between the two societies lies fertile ground for insight. Works by Miner (1939), Rioux (1964), and Gold and Tremblay (1973) are invaluable to the understanding of North American French culture and establish a context in which to analyze the Franco-American experience. Of particular interest, however, is research into social and economic differentiation between French and English Canadians. Examination of this material provides parallels to the current investigation.

In his study of the institutional structure of Montreal, Jamieson (1938)[16] found that the English-Canadian minority controlled the larger financial institutions and industrial corporations, while the few corporations under French control involved considerably smaller investments of capital and the bulk of French-Canadian industries were small, individually or family controlled enterprises. At the occupational level, Jamieson discovered a concentration of French-Canadians in the unskilled and semi-skilled positions and a tendency toward less specialization and smaller firms among French medical and legal

[16]One related study, predating Jamieson, was that of Roy (1935).

professionals. These findings were complemented by Hughes' (1943) community study of a Quebec town undergoing industrialization. In addition to a similar pattern of industrial and occupational participation, Hughes noted the salience of French-Canadian ethnic identity as a determining factor in business and occupational decisions. Although both Jamieson and Hughes discuss the role of French-Canadian culture in relation to occupational and economic stratification, the major focus of these works centers upon description of the existing relationships.

More recently, Porter's (1965) analysis of social class and ethnicity in Canada found that French-Canadians continued to be overrepresented at the lower levels and underrepresented at the higher levels of the occupational hierarchy, and that control of Canadian economic development remained disproportionately in the hands of English-Canadians. Furthermore, Porter observed that while in most occupations French-Canadians were slowly approaching the normal distribution, representation in the professions actually declined over a thirty year period.[17] In two other related studies, Taylor (1964) noted the role of cultural influences in limiting the behavior of French-Canadian industrial entrepreneurs, while De Jocas and Rocher (1957) discovered a significantly slower rate of intergenerational occupational mobility for French-Canadians when compared with English-Canadians. Finally, the work of the Royal Commission on

[17] Based upon Canadian Census data for the period 1931-1961.

Bilingualism and Biculturalism (1969) extensively documents the lower position of French-Canadians in the worlds of work and education.

In sum, the picture presented above provides further evidence that Franco-Americans have not yet moved into the educational and economic mainstream and suggests that a unique Franco-American subculture does exist in New England. While the extent to which traditional French-Canadian culture has survived in New England is unknown, 1970 census mother tongue data[18] indicates that the lifestyles of New Hampshire's Franco-Americans retain a distinctive pattern. The geographical distribution of the French mother tongue population (see Tables 2 and 3) is concentrated in the urban centers and old mill towns and a significant proportion of the work force is employed in manufacturing (42.6% of males and 44.4% of females). French mother tongue persons also exhibited less geographical mobility, with 89.8% having lived in New Hampshire five years previously (63.2% in the same house), as opposed to 77.5% (52.2% in the same house) of the English mother tongue population. Finally, data indicated that the median primary family size of French mother tongue persons and the median number of children ever born to French mother tongue women were both slightly higher than for the English mother tongue population. Clearly, however, comprehensive ethnographic research is needed to provide a more

[18] With the exception of the material on tables 2 and 3, census data cited above was obtained from the Franco-American files at the University of Southern Maine.

TABLE 2

New Hampshire Towns Having More Than 20%
French Mother Tongue Population: 1970

Town	Population	# FMT	% FMT	% State FMT
Berlin	15,256	9,224	60.46	8.19
Greenville	1,365	794	58.17	0.71
Allenstown	2,732	1,463	53.55	1.30
Dummer	202	85	42.08	0.08
Somersworth	9,026	3,536	39.17	3.14
Gorham	2,987	1,046	35.02	0.93
Manchester	87,754	27,777	31.65	24.68
Clarksville	146	42	28.77	0.04
Lincoln	1,269	351	27.66	0.31
Pembroke	4,261	1,170	27.46	1.04
Nashua	55,820	15,289	27.39	13.58
Litchfield	1,287	328	25.49	0.29
Stewartstown	1,002	252	25.15	0.22
Goffstown	9,284	2,313	24.91	2.05
Bedford	5,859	1,418	24.20	1.26
Northumberland	2,786	631	22.65	0.56
Colebrook	2,086	457	22.10	0.41
Jaffrey	3,353	736	21.95	0.65
Rollinsford	2,077	454	21.86	0.40
Hooksett	5,564	1,190	21.39	1.06
Laconia	14,888	3,173	21.31	2.81
Rochester	17,938	3,810	21.24	3.38
TOTAL	246,942	75,539	30.59	67.11

Source: Andrew T. Stewart, Percent French Mother Tongue: New Hampshire Places, Towns, and Cities. Concord: Office of Equal Educational Opportunity, N.H. State Department of Education, 1976. Statewide percentages computed by the Franco-American Research Project.

State Totals: 777,632 total population, 112,559 total French mother tongue, 15.30% French mother tongue.

TABLE 3

New Hampshire Towns With Largest French Mother Tongue Populations: 1970

Town	Population	# FMT	% FMT	% State FMT
Manchester	87,754	27,777	31.65	24.68
Nashua	55,820	15,289	27.39	13.58
Berlin	15,256	9,224	60.46	8.19
Rochester	17,938	3,810	21.24	3.38
Somersworth	9,026	3,536	39.17	3.14
Laconia	14,888	3,173	21.31	2.81
Dover	21,046	2,937	13.96	2.61
Concord	30,022	2,740	9.13	2.43
Claremont	14,221	2,465	17.33	2.19
Goffstown	9,284	2,313	24.91	2.05
Salem	20,142	2,087	10.36	1.85
Hudson	10,771	1,990	18.48	1.77
Allenstown	2,732	1,463	53.55	1.30
Bedford	5,859	1,418	24.20	1.26
Franklin	7,292	1,416	19.42	1.26
Keene	20,467	1,199	5.86	1.07
Hooksett	5,564	1,190	21.39	1.06
Pembroke	4,261	1,170	27.46	1.04
Portsmouth	26,188	1,158	4.42	1.03
Gorham	2,987	1,046	35.02	0.93
Derry	11,712	1,045	8.92	0.93
Lebanon	9,725	962	9.89	0.85
TOTAL	402,955	89,408	22.19	79.43

Source: Andrew T. Stewart, Percent French Mother Tongue: New Hampshire Places, Towns, and Cities. Concord: Office of Equal Educational Opportunity, N.H. State Department of Education, 1976. Statewide percentages computed by the Franco-American Research Project.

State Totals: 777,632 total population, 112,559 total French mother tongue, 15.30% French mother tongue.

complete description of Franco-American society, as well as comparison between the French-Canadian and Franco-American cultures.

IV. Results

A. Education

In the study of social stratification, perhaps no area is as significant as the educational domain. Schools have been characterized as the "primary agencies of social selection" (Hauser, 1970:102) and research has indicated a strong relationship between educational attainment and occupational status (see Blau and Duncan, 1967; Sewell et al., 1970). With the continuing upgrading of educational attainment at the societal level (Collins, 1977) and the increasing emphasis placed upon education, the role of education is increasing in importance. Certainly, then, any differentiation in educational achievement should have major implications for Franco-Americans; educational stratification based on ethnicity would place limitations upon Franco-American advancement in the social and economic hierarchies.

The study of Franco-American educational status focused upon two major areas: the educational attainment patterns of the adult population and current enrollment patterns in New Hampshire's state university system and vocational-technical colleges. Data at the elementary and secondary school levels, while theoretically desirable, was not available for research purposes. Educational attainment data, according to Hauser (1970:108), represents the best known and most useful means of studying educational stratification. Project attainment data was derived from the 1970 Census Public Use Sample tape and constitutes the first available statewide educational data on the French mother tongue population. This information is complemented by the college enrollment data,

obtained by application of the surname identification methodology to student rosters, which provides insight into current educational patterns. Although in both instances methodological limitations warrant caution in generalization, data nonetheless represents the best available characterization of the educational status of New Hampshire's Franco-Americans.

Controlled for age and sex, comparison of French and English mother tongue educational attainment patterns finds significant differences between the two groups. Among males twenty-five years and older (see Table 4), French mother tongue representation was concentrated at the lower educational levels and significantly absent at the higher levels. A similar pattern, slightly more pronounced, was observed in the female educational distribution (see Table 5). More significant analysis, however, can be obtained through comparison of French and English mother tongue educational attainment for different age cohorts (see Hauser, 1970:104). This allows for control of different educational contexts at different points in time, as well as the analysis of change through the comparison of successive age groups.

The analysis of educational attainment by age cohort indicates that while both the French and the English mother tongue populations have experienced a considerable increase in educational levels, there has been little relative improvement in the French position. Comparison of educational attainment distributions for French and English mother tongue males (see Table 6) found a steady decline in the proportion of both groups having eight or fewer years of education (from 73.2% among those over 65 to 18.3%

TABLE 4

Highest Grade Attended for French and English Mother Tongue Males; 25 Years and Older: New Hampshire, 1970

Educational Attainment	% FMT	% EMT	
Never attended - Grade 8	43.9	18.4	***
Grade 9 - Grade 11	20.7	19.5	
Grade 12	22.3	33.7	***
1 - 3 years college	7.4	12.1	*
4 years college	2.2	9.1	***
5 or more years college	3.5	7.1	*
(N)	367	1227	

$X^2 = 116.97$

$X^2 \geq X^2_{.005}$

* $p < .05$

*** $p < .005$

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Public Use Sample, 1970 Census of Population.

TABLE 5

Highest Grade Attended for French and English Mother Tongue Females; 25 Years and Older; New Hampshire, 1970

Educational Attainment	% FMT	% EMT	
Never attended - Grade 8	44.7	13.4	***
Grade 9 - Grade 11	20.5	17.5	
Grade 12	27.0	43.0	***
1 - 3 years college	5.6	15.3	***
4 years college	1.5	7.8	***
5 or more years college	0.6	3.0	***
(N)	463	1358	

$X^2 = 238.17$

$X^2 \geq X^2_{.005}$

*** $p < .005$

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Public Use Sample, 1970 Census of Population.

TABLE 6

Highest Grade Attended by Age Cohort for French and English Mother Tongue Males; 25 Years and Older: New Hampshire, 1970

	Age Cohort									
	65 and over		55 to 64		45 to 54		35 to 44		25 to 34	
Highest Grade Attended	% EMT	% FMT	% EMT	% FMT	% EMT	% FMT	% EMT	% FMT	% EMT	% FMT
Never Attended - Grade 8	42.1	73.2***	24.1	65.7***	17.0	37.3***	11.1	28.0***	7.6	18.3**
Grade 9 - Grade 11	22.8	12.7	19.8	16.4	17.0	22.9	22.1	25.3	17.1	25.4
Grade 12	17.3	4.2**	32.1	9.0***	40.8	28.9	38.5	32.0	35.1	35.2
1 or more Years College	17.8	9.9	24.1	9.0**	25.3	10.8**	28.2	14.7*	40.2	21.1***
(N)	(197)	(71)	(187)	(67)	(265)	(83)	(262)	(75)	(316)	(71)
	$X^2 = 21.22$		$X^2 = 40.42$		$X^2 = 21.36$		$X^2 = 16.53$		$X^2 = 14.84$	
	$X^2 \geq X^2_{.005}$		$X^2 \geq X^2_{.005}$		$X^2 \geq X^2_{.005}$		$X^2 \geq X^2_{.005}$		$X^2 \geq X^2_{.005}$	

* $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .005$

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Public Use Sample, 1970 Census of Population.

at 25-34 for the French; from 42.1% to 7.6% for the English), however the French percentage remains significantly higher than that of the English. A complementary pattern is observable among those with nine to eleven years of school attendance, with a perceptible but not statistically significant French under-representation evident within the over 65 age group changing to a similar overrepresentation among those 25 to 34. This could perhaps be attributed to the changing status of this position, now considered a comparatively low level of attainment. Similarly, although French-English representation among twelve-year attendees has achieved relative parity among twenty-five to thirty-four year old males, this constitutes the apex of French representation, but part of a downward trend in the English pattern. Finally, while the percentage of both French and English mother tongue males who attended college has increased (from 9.9% among those over 65 to 21.1% for those 25 to 34 for the French; from 17.8% to 40.2% for the English); the degree of French underrepresentation becomes increasingly significant in the younger age cohorts.

Allowing for the different educational opportunities available to males and females, the educational attainment distribution for French and English mother tongue females approximates the male pattern; that of absolute increases for both groups, but no relative improvement in the French position (see Table 7). In fact, the French-English differentiation is more pronounced among females. At the eight-year level, both

TABLE 7

Highest Grade Attended by Age Cohort for French and English Mother Tongue Females; 25 Years and Older: New Hampshire, 1970

	Age Cohort									
	65 and over		55 to 64		45 to 54		35 to 44		25 to 34	
Highest Grade Attended	% EMT	% FMT	% EMT	% FMT	% EMT	% FMT	% EMT	% FMT	% EMT	% FMT
Never Attended - Grade 8	30.3	75.2***	18.2	60.3***	8.3	34.8***	8.3	27.8***	3.1	22.2***
Grade 9 - Grade 11	19.0	13.8	19.1	19.2	18.4	21.4	19.0	26.6	12.9	23.3*
Grade 12	31.0	7.3***	33.8	16.4***	47.4	34.8*	49.2	34.2*	51.7	43.3
1 or more Years College	19.7	3.7***	28.9	4.1***	25.9	8.9***	23.4	11.4*	32.3	11.1***
(N)	(290)	(109)	(225)	(73)	(266)	(112)	(252)	(79)	(325)	(90)
	$X^2 = 70.22$		$X^2 = 54.82$		$X^2 = 48.43$		$X^2 = 26.25$		$X^2 = 53.14$	
	$X^2 \geq X^2_{.005}$		$X^2 \geq X^2_{.005}$		$X^2 \geq X^2_{.005}$		$X^2 \geq X^2_{.005}$		$X^2 \geq X^2_{.005}$	

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Public Use Sample, 1970 Census of Population.

* $p < .05$ *** $p < .005$

French and English representation experienced a constant decline, however the French proportion (75.2% of 65+; 22.2% of 25-34) remained significantly higher than the English proportion (30.3% at 65+; 3.1% at 25-34). Among persons with nine to eleven years of schooling, the relative French and English positions reversed over time, with a slight English overrepresentation among those over 65 becoming a significant French overrepresentation in the 25 to 34 age group. The pattern among twelve-year attendees found both the French and English mother tongue percentages to be increasing, but the French rate of increase (7.3% of 65+ to 43.3% of 25-34) was more rapid than the English rate (31.0% of 65+ to 51.7% of 25-34), with the relative differentiation decreasing to below significant levels. Although comparison among women who attended college is limited by the small number of cases in the older age cohorts, French representation (from 3.7% at 65+ to 11.1% at 25-34) remained significantly below the English percentage (19.7% at 65+; 32.3% at 25-34).

To summarize then, the age cohort analysis of educational attainment patterns indicates that while the French mother tongue population has followed the overall societal tendency toward higher levels of education, there has been no change in their low status relative to the English mother tongue population. Moreover, in the most important attainment category, that of college attendees, the comparative French underrepresentation has actually increased in the younger age cohorts. In real terms then, given the "inflationary" trend in educational attainment

gone little or no improvement, remaining an obstacle to upward mobility. The importance of this pattern is underscored by findings from the fifteen to twenty-four year old age cohort, which although based upon the unproven assumption that no French-English age differential exists within the cohort, suggest that different French-English educational levels have emerged for this group (see Table 8). For both males and females, French mother tongue representation is disproportionately high among persons with twelve or fewer years of schooling (84.0% and 87.9% of French males and females; 69.1% and 74.3% of English males and females), and disproportionately low among college attendees (16.0% and 12.1% of French males and females; 30.9% and 25.7% of English males and females).

As a complement to the educational attainment data, the analysis of enrollment patterns within the state university system and the state vocational technical colleges provides more current information regarding the educational status of Franco-Americans. Following Parsons' (1959:298) observation that due to the process of educational and occupational upgrading, the most important educational distinction is on the basis of college attendance, Franco-American representation in higher education assumes additional significance, for undoubtedly the future occupational hierarchy will reflect present educational patterns. Enrollment data was obtained through the application of the surname identification methodology to current student directories. In each case, attempts were made to restrict the sample to New Hampshire residents, however it is possible that the vocational

TABLE 8

Highest Grade Attended for French and English Mother Tongue Males and Females; Age 15 to 24: New Hampshire, 1970

Males

Highest Grade Attended	% EMT	% FMT
Grade 12 or less	69.1	84.0
1 or more years college	30.9	16.0
(N)	81	479

$X^2 = 7.47$ $X^2 \geq X^2_{.01}$

Females

Highest Grade Attended	% EMT	% FMT
Grade 12 or less	74.3	87.9
1 or more years college	25.7	12.1
(N)	91	491

$X^2 = 7.83$ $X^2 \geq X^2_{.01}$

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Public Use Sample, 1970 Census of Population.

technical college data may contain a small number of non-New Hampshire residents. Results of the analysis found that French-surname representation was inversely related to educational level, with the lowest proportion found among graduate students and the highest among vocational technical college students (see Table 9). Specifically, while French-surnamed residents constitute 5.96% of state university system graduate students, the proportion of undergraduates was between 13.33% and 15.80% (averaging 13.89%), and representation at five of the six state vocational technical colleges[19] ranged from 16.04% to 35.05% (averaging 26.06%). Although generalization is limited by the lack of French-surname population data, comparison between the various institutions indicates that French-surnamed students are disproportionately concentrated at the lower levels of the post-secondary educational system. Furthermore, a similar analysis of 1978 New Hampshire enlistment in the United States Army, which could be viewed as an alternative educational career, disclosed that French-surnamed enlistees comprised 25.04% (N=563) of the state total.

In one other educationally related area, census data showed that not surprisingly, French mother tongue students are more likely to attend parochial school than English mother tongue students (see Table 10). Among males, 29.2% of French mother tongue students attended parochial school, as opposed to 7.4% of English mother tongue students; for females, the respective

[19]Data from the Nashua Vocational Technical College was not available.

TABLE 9

Percentage French-Surnamed Students; New Hampshire Residents:
State University System and Vocational Technical Colleges

State University System - Graduate Students

	% French-Surname	(N)
U.N.H.	5.91	575
Keene State	4.44	45
Plymouth State	11.11	18
TOTAL	5.96	638

State University System - Undergraduate Students

	% French-Surname	(N)
U.N.H.	13.33	6326
Keene State	14.10	2156
Plymouth State	15.80	1633
TOTAL	13.89	10115

Vocational Technical Colleges

	% French-Surname	(N)
Laconia	16.04	212
Claremont	19.94	331
Portsmouth	23.67	207
Manchester	32.56	258
Berlin	35.05	331
TOTAL	26.06	1339

TABLE 10

Type of School Attended for French and English Mother Tongue Students; Male and Female: New Hampshire, 1970

Males

Type of School	% EMT	% FMT	
Public	79.0	61.9	***
Parochial	7.4	29.2	***
Other Private	12.8	8.8	
(N)	914	113	

$X^2 = 50.87$

$X^2 \geq X^2_{.005}$ *** $p < .005$

Females

Type of School	% EMT	% FMT	
Public	82.0	52.2	***
Parochial	10.1	38.9	***
Other Private	7.9	8.9	
(N)	862	90	

$X^2 = 62.26$

$X^2 \geq X^2_{.005}$ *** $p < .005$

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Public Use Sample, 1970 Census of Population.

percentages were 38.9% for French mother tongue and 10.4% for English mother tongue. Although data indicates that enrollment in diocesan schools is declining (Forum on New Hampshire's Future, 1979), the influence of parochial education should be considered in the study of Franco-American educational processes.

B. Employment

Undoubtedly, no social status is more significant than that determined by an individual's position in the occupational structure. As Everett Hughes (in Braude, 1975:127) states, a person's occupation "is one of the most important parts of their social identity, of their self, indeed of their fate in the one life they have to live." For the individual, occupation is the primary source of material assets (Rothman, 1978: 67-68), as well as a major determinant of both one's life chances and the mobility of succeeding generations. Currently, the Dictionary of Occupational Titles (U. S. Department of Labor, 1977) lists over 20,000 job titles classified into eleven major categories, each receiving varying measures of income, prestige, and power. These dimensions then form the basis of the occupational structure, and consequently, the primary foundation upon which social class distinctions are made.

The bulk of the occupational information was obtained from the 1970 Census Public Use Sample data, thus providing the first statewide profile of the occupational status of New Hampshire's French mother tongue population. Occupations are categorized according to the Census Bureau's Occupational Classification

System, however it should be noted that the broad variations in status subsumed within the Census Bureau categories (especially professional, technical, and kindred workers and managers and administrators) could obscure potential differences between the French and English mother tongue populations.[20] During processing, controls were added to eliminate differences due to sex and to limit the population under consideration to income-earning persons between twenty-five and sixty-four years of age. It was expected that these controls would minimize the effects of student status, retirement, and volunteerism, thus allowing the occupational distribution to more closely approximate that of the full time work force. While discretion must be exercised in generalizing beyond the French mother tongue population, the census data should provide insight into the overall Franco-American occupational distribution.

Research results indicate that the occupational status of the French mother tongue population is substantially different from that of the English mother tongue population. Among income earning males between twenty-five and sixty-four (see Table 11), French mother tongue persons are significantly underrepresented in the managerial and administrative ranks (7.6% to 15.6%) and among professional, technical, and kindred workers (10.4% to 17.8%). On the other hand, significant French mother tongue

[20] Blau and Duncan (1967:23), for example, provide seventeen major occupational categories as opposed to the eleven employed by the Census Burea.

TABLE 11

Current Occupation for Income Earning French and English Mother Tongue Males: Age 25 to 64: New Hampshire, 1970

Occupational Classification	% EMT	% FMT	
Professional, Technical, and Kindred Workers	17.8	10.4	***
Managers and Administrators (including farm)	15.6	7.6	***
Sales Workers	5.5	3.8	
Clerical Workers	6.5	6.9	
Craftspersons and Kindred Workers	25.3	29.9	
Operatives (including transport)	18.4	27.4	***
Laborers (including farm)	5.5	6.3	
Service and Private Household Workers	5.3	7.6	
(N)	1016	288	

$X^2 = 32.38$

$X^2 \geq X^2_{.005}$

*** $p < .005$

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Public Use Sample, 1970 Census of Population.

overrepresentation was found among operatives (27.4% to 18.4%), while observable but not statistically significant differences existed among sales workers, craftspersons, clerical workers, laborers, and service workers. A relatively similar pattern appeared among income earning females between twenty-five and sixty-four years of age, however the French-English differentiation was more pronounced (see Table 12). Proportionately fewer French mother tongue women were found among professional, technical, and kindred workers (10.6% to 22.9%) and clerical workers (17.9% to 28.5%), while a significant French overrepresentation was apparent among operatives (43.8% to 21.2%). Only slight discrepancies were noted among managers and administrators, sales persons, service personnel, and private household workers, while representation in other categories was too small to merit consideration.

Breakdown of occupational categories by age cohorts yielded additional information. Although the results are more tentative, due to the smaller sample size (resulting from increased controls) and to the influence of age as an independent variable, analysis of occupational distributions for different age cohorts can provide some insight into the direction of change. An important observation here is that data must be considered in the context of changes in the overall occupational structure, thereby making inter-group comparison the only valid basis for analysis. Nevertheless, the comparison of relative changes in the proportional representation of the French and English mother

TABLE 12

Current Occupation for Income Earning French and English Mother Tongue Females; Age 25 to 64; New Hampshire, 1970

Occupational Classification	% EMT	% FMT	
Professional, Technical, and Kindred Workers	22.9	10.6	***
Non-Farm Managers and Administrators	4.1	2.6	
Sales Workers	5.4	4.3	
Clerical Workers	28.5	17.9	***
Operatives (including transport)	21.2	43.8	***
Service Workers	12.1	15.7	
Private Household Workers	2.3	2.1	
Other[1]	3.4	3.0	
(N)	702	235	

$X^2 = 58.06$

$X^2 \geq X^2_{.005}$

*** $p < .005$

1. Includes craftspersons and kindred workers, farm and non-farm laborers, and farmers and farm managers.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Public Use Sample, 1970 Census of Population.

tongue populations further underscores the differential position of the French group. Among males (see Table 13), the relative proportion of French and English mother tongue professionals changes from minor deviation to significant French underrepresentation in the younger age cohorts (11.9% to 14.4% among those 55-64; 11.3% to 23.4% of those 25-34). In other occupations, comparative French-English representation remained relatively stationary among craftspersons and managers and administrators, while among operatives results indicate that the substantial French mother tongue overrepresentation in the older age cohorts (34.3% to 20.3%) has been eliminated within the twenty-five to thirty-four year old age group (15.5% to 18.7%).

Data for females, however, shows little effect for age upon the relative French-English occupational distribution (see Table 14). In the professions, although the proportions of both French and English mother tongue women decreased, the degree of French underrepresentation remained relatively stationary (27.7% to 41.1% at 55-64; 15.6% to 28.4% among those 25-34). Among clerical workers, data found an absolute increase in the percentage of both French and English mother tongue females, however the relative French underrepresentation increased to significant levels (9.6% to 14.7% at 55-64; 21.1% to 33.3% at 25.34). Finally, French mother tongue overrepresentation remained stable among operatives (34.2% to 14.7% at 55-64; 37.8% to 17.6% at 25-34), while declining slightly below significant levels among service workers (19.2% to 9.8% at 55-64; 17.8% to 10.2% at 25-34).

TABLE 13

Selected Current Occupations by Age Cohort for French and English Mother Tongue Males; Ages 25-34 and 55-64; New Hampshire, 1970

Age 55-64

Occupational Classification	% EMT	% FMT	
Professional, Technical, and Kindred Workers	14.4	11.9	
Non-Farm Managers and Administrators	18.7	6.0	*
Craftspersons and Kindred Workers	17.1	25.4	
Operatives (including transport)	20.3	34.3	*
(N)	187	67	

Age 25-34

Occupational Classification	% EMT	% FMT	
Professional, Technical, and Kindred Workers	23.4	11.3	*
Non-Farm Managers and Administrators	10.8	4.2	
Craftspersons and Kindred Workers	25.3	35.2	
Operatives (including transport)	18.7	15.5	
(N)	316	71	

* $p < .05$

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Public Use Sample, 1970 Census of Population.

TABLE 14

Selected Current Occupations by Age Cohort for French and English Mother Tongue Females; Ages 25-34 and 55-64: New Hampshire, 1970

Age 55-64

Occupational Classification	% EMT	% FMT	
Professional, Technical, and Kindred Workers	41.1	27.4	*
Clerical Workers	14.7	9.6	
Operatives (including transport)	14.7	34.2	***
Service Workers	9.8	19.2	*
(N)	224	73	

Age 25-34

Occupational Classification	% EMT	% FMT	
Professional, Technical, and Kindred Workers	28.4	15.6	*
Clerical Workers	33.3	21.1	*
Operatives (including transport)	17.6	37.8	***
Service Workers	10.2	17.8	
(N)	324	90	

* $p < .05$ *** $p < .005$

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Public Use Sample, 1970 Census of Population.

From this data, the occupational pattern for males suggests that French-English mother tongue differences are a factor in change. The disappearance of the French overrepresentation among operatives indicates that male French mother tongue workers may be progressing from the lower to the middle levels of the occupational structure,[21] however the increase in under-representation among professionals evinces no corresponding change at the higher levels. For females, on the other hand, the stability of the comparative French-English patterns suggests a different hypothesis; that change is more a function of changing female participation in the occupational structure, that there has been no relative change in French-English occupational differentiation.

To complement the census data, insight into Franco-American representation in specific occupations and professions was obtained through establishment of the percentages of French-surnamed persons in relevant professional directories, state agency files, and other rosters and registers. The use of this method established a basis other than language for the analysis of Franco-American employment patterns. Given that the preponderance of such material available on the statewide level consists of professional registers, the research method was most effective in this area,

[21] Although the sample size was too small to merit inclusion, data suggests a substantial increase among male French mother tongue clerical workers. This would further support the proposition of male French mother tongue movement into the middle levels of the occupational structure.

however efforts were made to obtain data from as many sources as possible. Occupations are again arranged according to the Census Bureau's classification system; however to provide insight into possible variations in Franco-American representation within occupational categories, additional divisions were made among professionals in accordance with material on occupational prestige (cf. Hodge et al., 1964; Blau and Duncan, 1967: 122-123).

In the high status professions, those requiring more training and having greater economic and social reward, French-surname representation ranged from four to fifteen percent, clustering between six and eight percent (see Table 15). Dentists, at 14.69%, had the highest degree of representation, while state university system faculty at 4.03% were below the mean. Additional breakdown of the state university system faculty shows a progressive decline in French-surname representation with increasing rank and the study of faculty at the New Hampshire vocational technical colleges found a significantly high incidence of French-surnamed individuals (see Table 16), reflecting the lower status and non-academic orientation of these institutions. The secondary professions, those requiring less training and having lower economic and social rewards, showed a proportion of French-surnamed persons ranging from fourteen to twenty-three percent, a marked increase from the representation in the high status professions (see Table 17). A further breakdown of accountants found that the percentage of French-surnamed public accountants (P.A.) was considerably higher than that of the more highly trained certified public accountants (C.P.A.).

TABLE 15

Percentage French-Surname Representation:
High Status Professions: New Hampshire

Profession	% French-Surname	(N)
University System Faculty	4.03	899
Architect	6.03	116
Physician	6.95	1267
Engineer	7.38	949
Attorney	7.43	1212
Dentist	14.69	899

TABLE 16

Percentage French-Surname Representation,
New Hampshire State University System
and Vocational Technical College Faculty

State University System Faculty

	% French-Surname	(N)
Professor	1.49	204
Associate Professor	4.29	286
Assistant Professor	5.62	274
TOTAL[1]	4.03	899

Vocational Technical College Faculty

	% French-Surname	(N)
Professor	18.75	48
Associate Professor	12.24	49
Assistant Professor	27.77	36
Instructor	33.33	21
TOTAL	20.78	154

1. Discrepancy in the total for state university system faculty is due to the inclusion of instructors, lecturers, and library faculty in the overall total.

TABLE 17

Percentage French-Surname Representation;
Secondary Status Professions: New Hampshire

Profession	% French-Surname	(N)
Dental Hygienist	14.52	310
Pharmacist	18.71	519
Accountant (Total)	18.75	608
Accountant (C.P.A.)	13.31	263
Accountant (P.A.)	22.90	345
Optometrist	23.76	207

Among the industrial elite, French-surname representation remained at a low level. Analysis of 227 New Hampshire based corporations listed in Standard & Poor's register (1978) found only 6.37% of officers and 6.54% of directors having French surnames (see Table 18). The significance of this finding is increased by the fact that ten small, predominantly Franco-American companies provide 47% of the French-surnamed officers and 42% of the French-surnamed directors. Examination of the New Hampshire Register (Tower, 1978) also proved instructive, including the finding that French-surnamed individuals comprise 3.85% (N=104) of the presidents of New Hampshire banks and trust companies. In a slightly different genre -- town and municipal officials -- research found that with the exception of a 12.12% representation among police chiefs, the proportion of French-surnamed officials ranged from seven to nine percent among town and lower municipal officials to 14.38% of mayors and 29.2% of aldermen and councilors (see Table 19). Both the higher incidence of French-surnamed mayors and aldermen/councilors and the under-representation among lower municipal officials could be attributable to the concentration of Franco-Americans in urban areas,[22] a hypothesis supported by the non-existence of French-surnamed town managers in the mid-sized towns of New Hampshire's southern

[22] With the exception of police chiefs, French-surname representation among lower municipal officials is higher in the 13 cities having mayors and aldermen/councilors, including 15.38% of city clerks, 30.76% of fire chiefs, 23.08% of city treasurers, and 15.38% of tax collectors.

TABLE 18

Percentage French-Surname Representation; Officers and Directors of 227 New Hampshire Corporations

Position	% French-Surname	(N)
Officers (total)[1]	6.37	1130
Chairman	6.66	75
President	5.26	209
Vice-President	6.50	431
Secretary	7.58	145
Treasurer	7.22	180
Directors	6.54	1132

1. Disparity between the total number of officers and the cumulative subtotals is due to the inclusion of vice-chairmen, division presidents, senior vice-presidents, and executive vice-presidents.

TABLE 19

Percentage French-Surname Representation;
New Hampshire Town and Municipal Officials

Position	% French-Surname	(N)
Selectman	7.57	674
Clerk	8.97	234
Chief of Police	12.12	198
Fire Chief	7.79	231
Treasurer	7.36	231
Tax Collector	8.50	233
Mayor	15.38	13
Alderman/Councilor	29.20	137
Town Manager	0.00	22

tier. Finally, in the only investigation of federal managerial positions, it was found that French-surnamed persons constituted 15.73% (N=248) of New Hampshire's postmasters.

One of the primary areas of investigation was employment in the public sector, for in terms of availability and comprehensiveness, no data source can rival the state in depicting the overall employment situation. Utilizing a computer printout of 8286 classified state employees, analysis included determination of the French-surname representation for each department and distribution among the thirty-four labor grades (see Table 20). Statewide French-surnamed representation was 18.37%, with departmental representation generally ranging from ten to thirty-five percent. Labor grade distribution, while significantly below the proportion for non- Franco-Americans, failed to approach on a statewide level the findings of the New Hampshire State Advisory Committee to the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights study (1974) of Franco-Americans in classified positions in four New Hampshire cities. As illustrated in Table 21, research results indicate that while French-surnamed persons are underrepresented at the higher levels of classification, the percentage is nearly four times higher than was found by the advisory committee, presumably due to the identification and sampling procedures employed in the advisory committee study.

The analysis of other occupational categories has been limited, however results indicate a significantly higher proportion of French-surnamed clerical workers and service employees.

TABLE 20

Percentage French-Surname Representation by Labor Grade; Classified New Hampshire State Employees

Labor Grade	Salary Range	% French-Surname	(N)
1	6436 - 7006	30.77	13
2	6579 - 7147	22.22	108
3	6722 - 7287	22.95	61
4	6818 - 7642	22.87	341
5	7004 - 8046	20.18	1011
6	7231 - 8307	19.79	485
7	7528 - 8774	20.88	498
8	7790 - 9036	20.81	615
9	8050 - 9298	16.23	228
10	8319 - 9672	23.19	483
11	8574 - 10137	20.05	369
12	8948 - 10696	18.30	388
13	9193 - 11158	18.98	432
14	9690 - 11732	17.87	291
15	10146 - 12267	14.11	574
16	10451 - 12658	16.74	227
17	10761 - 13048	19.61	255
18	11207 - 13631	14.63	287
19	11653 - 14211	12.97	185
20	12114 - 14688	15.73	286
21	12577 - 15163	14.88	121
22	13170 - 16155	13.13	99
23	13759 - 16859	14.47	235
24	14349 - 17564	15.60	109
25	15308 - 18785	13.89	108
26	15783 - 19333	12.03	133
27	16258 - 19885	10.61	66
28	16758 - 20573	11.11	36
29	17261 - 21261	18.37	49
30	17765 - 21953	5.55	36
31	18976 - 23333	13.64	22
32	20188 - 24714	25.00	12
33	21658 - 26643	7.14	14
34	23131 - 28572	0.00	5
	TOTAL	18.36	8182

TABLE 21

Comparative Employment Patterns Among Classified New Hampshire State Employees; New Hampshire Civil Rights Advisory Committee and Franco-American Research Project

New Hampshire Civil Rights Advisory Committee

	% Franco-American	(N)
Grades 1-9 (under $6000)	30.0	80
Grades 10-21 ($6000 - $10,000)	15.8	291
Grades 22-34 (over $10,000)	3.5	29
TOTAL	17.8	400

Source: Hank Nichols, "This State Discriminates Against Blacks, Women, and Franco-Americans," New Hampshire Times, December 11, 1974: 11-12.

Franco-American Research Project

	% French-Surname	(N)	
Grades 1 - 9	20.51	3360	***
Grades 10 - 21	17.68	3898	
Grades 22 - 34	13.42	924	***
TOTAL	18.36	8182	

$X^2 = 26.58$

$X^2 \geq X^2_{.005}$

*** $p < .005$

Examination of several classified state positions and licensed service occupations found French-surname representation ranging from twenty-two to more than forty percent (see Table 22). Although additional data on operatives and laborers is available, the geographical distribution of the Franco-American population makes generalization logically tenuous without a statewide base. While data from municipalities or local businesses and institutions may indicate a high proportional representation of French-surnamed persons, causality could be inferred to be a function of the local Franco-American population proportion, thereby confining generalization within the boundaries of the community.

An additional source of economic information was provided by the income distributions of the French and English mother tongue populations.[23] With controls applied for age and sex, results indicate only slight French-English differences in income levels. Among males aged twenty-five to sixty-four (see Table 23), data indicates a significant overall relationship between mother tongue and total income, with some clustering of French mother tongue persons in the middle income levels. The only significant variation, however, is the French underrepresentation at the highest income level, those earning more than $15,000 annually. For females aged twenty-five to sixty-four the pattern is essentially the same (see Table 24); a significant overall relationship

[23] An important consideration in the evaluation of income data is that income is based upon 1969 earnings. Income data should therefore be considered in the context of the 1969 wage scale.

TABLE 22

Percentage French-Surname Representation: Selected Clerical and Service Occupations: New Hampshire

Occupation	% French-Surname	(N)
State Liquor Store Clerk	22.03	227
Toll Booth Attendant	25.26	95
Cosmetologist[1]	28.93	719
Barber	43.32	611

1. Based upon a 20% Sample.

TABLE 23

Total Income for Employed French and English Mother Tongue Males; Age 25 to 64; New Hampshire, 1970

Total Income	% EMT	% FMT	
$0 - $1999	3.5	5.9	
$2000 - $3999	6.2	4.5	
$4000 - $5999	15.3	18.4	
$6000 - $7999	22.6	25.0	
$8000 - $9999	20.9	23.6	
$10000 - $14999	21.8	17.7	
$15000 and over	9.7	4.9	**
(N)	1016	288	

$X^2 = 14.92$

$X^2 \geq X^2_{.05}$ ** $p < .01$

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Public Use Sample, 1970 Census of Population.

TABLE 24

Total Income for Employed French and English Mother Tongue Females; Age 25 to 64; New Hampshire, 1970

Total Income	% EMT	% FMT	
$0 - $1999	33.3	27.7	
$2000 - $3999	26.1	26.8	
$4000 - $5999	25.1	34.5	**
$6000 - $7999	8.8	8.5	
$8000 and over	6.7	2.6	*
(N)	702	235	

$X^2 = 12.83$ * $p < .05$

$X^2 \geq X^2_{.05}$ ** $p < .01$

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Public Use Sample, 1970 Census of Population.

between mother tongue and total income and a significant underrepresentation of French mother tongue women at the highest income level, those earning more than $8,000 annually. Moreover, the inferred clustering at the middle levels is substantiated by an overrepresentation of French mother tongue women in the $4,000-$5,999 income bracket.

V. Discussion

The research results presented herein lead to the tentative but inescapable conclusion that a system of ethnic stratification exists in New Hampshire; that for the state's Franco-American population, ethnicity is a factor in determining socioeconomic status. Specifically, data provides the strongest support yet for the hypothesis that Franco-Americans are underrepresented at the upper levels of the educational and occupational hierarchies. While data limitations prescribe caution in making generalizations applicable to the entire Franco-American population, the census mother tongue data constitutes fairly conclusive evidence that for the more than fifteen percent of New Hampshire's citizens for whom the French language is a factor, educational and occupational status are significantly below average. Moreover, the inclusion of the French-surname data indicates that the low relative position of Franco-Americans transcends language boundaries. For New Hampshire's Franco-Americans, then, the ideal of educational and economic equality is seemingly far from becoming a reality.

More provisional results suggest that Franco-American educational and economic advancement has been at a relatively slow pace. Comparative patterns of educational and occupational attainment for different age groups imply that while Franco-Americans may realize some movement from lower levels as a result of overall societal changes, relative gains are much less evident and underrepresentation in the higher levels actually increases. Analysis

of specific occupations and professions finds that in instances where hierarchical rankings are possible, Franco-Americans continue to occupy the lower positions. Furthermore, indication that limited progression is a continuing trend is provided by the observation of differential educational attainment and college attendance patterns among younger Franco-Americans. Finally, data suggests that for Franco-American women relative disadvantage may be greater, although whether this is due to different role expectations for Franco-American women or to the added structural obstacles experienced by minority women remains unknown.

If we accept the conclusion that the educational and occupational levels of Franco-Americans are relatively low, then attention must be focused upon the processes through which this situation is maintained. This then leads to an examination of the educational system, for although other factors may intervene, it is largely through the educational process that occupational status is determined. According to Parsons (1959), the role of education in American society is twofold: socialization to the values of society (i.e. the dominant culture) and allocation of manpower across the occupational hierarchy. The significance of this latter function lies in the fact that divisions are required by the social structure; that it is as necessary to produce persons to fill the low status professions as it is to produce the most highly trained leaders and professionals. Given that educational ideology emphasizes achievement based upon ability, one effect of the

educational process becomes the legitimization of occupational differentiation. In his critique of the American educational system, Bowles (1977) asserts that education both reproduces and legitimizes the unequal division of labor, thereby serving to maintain class differences. Similarly, Bordieu (1977) finds that the educational system reproduces family based class differences by transmitting the culture of the dominant class through modes of communciation familiar to the dominant class. Educational success, then, depends upon the compatibility of individual "cultural capital" with that of the dominant class, a fact emphasized by Bordieu when he notes that the low valuation placed upon education by the lower classes represents an objective assessment of their chances for success.

At a more specific level, research indicates that educational achievement can be correlated with a wide range of factors. According to two major studies (Blau and Duncan, 1967; Sewell and Shah, 1967), there exists a relationship between the socioeconomic background of the student and educational achievement. Additionally, many sources (summarized in Parelius and Parelius, 1978) observe the influence of social class and ethnic cultural backgrounds transmitted through the family, including levels of aspiration and relevant attitudes and values. One factor with particular significance for Franco-Americans is language, for as Shinn (1972) notes, language determines the manner in which individuals view the world and language differences can have important implications for testing. Even within an individual language, linguistic "codes" vary with social class (see Bernstein,

1977), with consequent effects upon educational attainment.

In addition to variations in student background, research also demonstrates the importance of factors within the educational system. Given the allocative function of the educational institution, it is not surprising that Alexander et al. (1978) find that curriculum enrollment or "tracking" has major direct and indirect effects upon educational outcomes. The significance of this finding is increased by the related conclusion that "tracking" is the primary medium through which background factors and achievement variations influence the educational process. While many elements are involved in determining curriculum placement, teacher expectations and evaluations of students and the judgements and actions of guidance personnel can play a crucial role. Undoubtedly, decisions such as these could be particularly vulnerable to ethnic and cultural differences between educators and students (see Cicourel and Kitsuse, 1977; Lucas, 1950).

In the search for explanation, however, it would be entirely inappropriate to emphasize either cultural factors or the dissimilarities between Franco-American culture and the dominant culture. Such a view approaches all too closely the mythical "culture of poverty",[24] placing upon the disadvantaged the onus of responsibility for their low status. On the contrary, as Schermerhorn (1970:80) observes, culture and social structure exist in a

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24. For a discussion and critique of the "culture of poverty", see Leacock (1971).

dialectical relationship, with institutions both effecting and reflecting cultural norms and values. Indeed, influences seemingly rooted in Franco-American culture, such as low aspiration levels or a low valuation of education, are more likely products of existing social and economic relationships. If explanations are to be sought, then, more fertile ground lies in those institutional mechanisms which perpetuate inequality. In a system where inequality is rooted in the social structure, division among class and ethnic lines becomes inevitable.

While existing data provides sufficient justification for action, much more remains to be known regarding New Hampshire's Franco-Americans. More comprehensive research following the lines of this study would contribute necessary breadth and depth to the present understanding of Franco-American educational and occupational patterns. Particularly valuable would be research into relative educational achievement at the elementary and secondary school levels, thus furnishing more current information. The most fundamental need, however, is for the immediate utilization of "Franco-American" as a data gathering category at the federal, state, and local levels, even to fill such basic deficiencies as the absence of accurate population information. For too long, the Franco-American fact has been ignored in New Hampshire. It is the task of the present to insure that this is not the truth in the future.

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APPENDIX - A

Employment Data: 64 Selected New Hampshire Industries

Occupational Category	% Franco-American	(N)
Officers and Managers	2.26	1060
Professional	13.81	782
Technical	3.77	504
Sales	19.37	382
Clerical	28.89	3870
Operator/semi-skilled	46.19	11062
Operator/skilled	5.57	1471
Laborer	57.77	2470
Other	22.27	952
TOTAL	37.93	21553

Source: Unpublished study, New Hampshire Commission for Human Rights; October 15, 1973.

APPENDIX - B

SURNAMES OF QUESTIONABLE ORIGIN

Names to be deleted	Names considered non- Franco-American	
Baron	Abel	Leyden
Bernard	Abraham	Lot
Bertrand	Adam	Lucas
Blanchard	Albert	Manuel
Clement	Austin	Marino
David	Bacon	Marion
Faber	Barry	Mayer
Fort	Bart	Maynard
Gilbert	Benjamin	Mellon
Horne	Berger	Melvin
Hussey	Berman	Miller
Joseph	Berry	Milner
Joy	Boone	Milton
Lambert	Borgia	Miner
Lord	Boyle	Moran
Martin	Buchanan	Moret
Paul	Cain	Murray
Prince	Capone	Neilson
Raymond	Carlos	Nelson
Roland	Colbert	Nolan
Roy	Colson	Oliva
Silva	Douglass	O'Neil
Talbot	Ely	Orange
Vincent	Emanuel	Page
	Gage	Pain
	Gain	Patel
	Gay	Paxton
	Gomez	Platt
	Guy	Robin
	Hammond	Rogers
	Hardy	Roman
	Harris	Rose
	Hay	Sales
	Henry	Salmon
	Herman	Samson
	Hill	Seaman
	Jackson	Simon
	Jacobs	Thomas
	James	Tremont
	Jeffrey	Troy
	Jolly	Victor
	Jordan	